

A SAMPLE of *Theology*
Bind 5
True-Blew Presbyterian-LOYALTY,
IN ALL
CHANGES *and* TURNS
OF
GOVERNMENT.

Taken chiefly out of their most Authentick Records.

In a Letter to a Friend.

To which is added a

DECLARATION
OF THE
Presbytery at Bangor.

ANNO, 1649.

*She eateth, and wipeth her Mouth, and saith, I have done no
Wickedness, Proverbs, Chap. xxx. Vers. 20.*

Dublin: Printed by John Ray, in Skinner-Row, over against
the Tholsel. and are to be Sold by the Booksellers, 1709.



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Sir,

I Received your Letter, wherein you do so earnestly desire my Sense of a prevailing Opinion lately advanced, and most industriously spread, That the *Presbyterian Dissenters of IRELAND* have ever been, in all Revolutions, most Loyal Subjects to the Crown; and that when their Brethren in England and Scotland Rebelled against the QUEEN's Royal Ancestors, the Dissenters of IRELAND were intirely free from the Counsels of those Days.

I have consulted the Addressees, to which you refer me, particularly that from the *Dissenting Ministers* of the North of Ireland to the Queen, Dated February, 1708. I have also read the Pamphlet call'd the *Parallel*, lately Published and Dedicated to the Queen; asserting in full, what you mentioned, and almost demanding the Queen's Concurrence and Interposition in the Repeal of the TEST, as a Debt due from Her Majesty to them, for the Expence of their Blood and Fortune in assisting Her Royal Predecessors upon all Occasions. I have observed the bold Challenge given by that Author, daring any Person whatsoever to enter the Lists, and joyn issue with him in Searching out for the Rebellions, the Associations, the Façons, and Disturbances, which the Dissenters of Ireland ever raised against their Prince, though they should go back to the Years 41, 48, and 60. I have, I say, seen this Challenge, and do, at your Request, joyn issue with the Challenger, and undertake to prove, That the Dissenters of Ireland were not free from what he calls the Counsels of those Days, but enter'd as deep (according to their Power) into the Associations, and Façons, &c. against the Government, as any of their Brethren in either of those Kingdoms, and were the same with them both in Principles and Practice. And here I cannot help making this Remark, that in my judgment, he has given up the Point entirely in relation to the *Presbyterians* of England and Scotland, and acquiesces in their being concerned in the Councils of those Days, that is, as he expresses it in the body

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of

of the Challenge, in the *Rebellions, Associations, Factions, and Disturbances against the Prince*. A Concession, in which (however it be notoriously True beyond all Contradiction) he shews more Candour than I expected from an Author so very disingenious in other Points.

Now that I may proceed in this Argument with all the Perspicuity I can, I do resolve to stick close to Matter of Fact, and such Records of the *Presbyterians*, as I do presume they will allow to be Authentick, and will not enter into any Speculations, or give a Handle either to be teased, or abused out of what I know to be Truth, by any Remarkers upon this Paper, but endeavour to defend my self so with their own Records, that they must make way through them before they can touch me.

To joyn issue then, (in the Phrase of the Challenger) the State of the Case betwixt us stands thus,

The *Presbyterian Dissenters* of Ireland and their Abettors, do, in their Printed (a) Addresses & Papers, most strenuously assert, That their Untainted Loyalty in all Turns of Government, &c. are the Natural Consequences of their known Principles: That accordingly from those Principles, they have (b) upon all Occasions assisted the Queen's Royal Predecessors at the Expence of their Blood and Fortunes: That however the *Presbyterians* of England and Scotland might have enter'd into Plots, Associations, and Factions against the King, in, or about the Years 41, 48, and 60. yet (c) the *Presbyterians* of Ireland were not at all concerned in the Councils of those Times. For the Truth of which Assertions, he does (d) appeal to the Histories of those Times, and the particular Authors and their Writings, which are in every Library.

I do confess, when I first saw this bold Pretence to *Untainted Loyalty*, so positively asserted by the Body of the *Dissenting Ministers*, and Others, and that, from so many Instances of Fact, pretended to be given from the Histories of those Times, I was surpriz'd, to think I had so long labour'd under a Prejudice, that the *Dissenters* as well of Ireland, as of England, and Scotland, had in all former Revolutions (and that from their known Principles) been tainted in their Loyalty, and had enter'd into Plots, Associations, and Factions against the Government, and I was resolved to make a strict Search into the Records of those Times, and trace out this *Untainted Loyalty* of the *Presbyterians* of Ireland, which had so long

long lain hid, that I do not remember it was ever discovered, or thought of, at least not mentioned till of late. And in truth after a long and strict Search into those Follies and Misfortunes of Former Times, I did find, that there ever was a perfect Harmony both in Principles & Practice amongst all the *Dissenters* of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and that they were equally deep in the Plots, Associations, and Factions against the King, not only in the Period mentioned between 41. and 60. but generally in every Turn of Government since the Reformation; and that is what I do now undertake to shew.

First then, as to the known Principles of the Dissenters, which have naturally produced such Untainted Loyalty. I do not propose at present to make so exact an Enquiry into all their Political Principles, as perhaps I shall in some time; but such only as relates to those Principles, which are productive of their pretended Loyalty. And thus far I will venture to assert, That if the *Dissenters* of Ireland will allow themselves to be the same in Principles of Discipline and Government with their Elder Sister the *KIRK* of Scotland, (and I do think it never was, or ever will be denyed) they are so far from being the Queen's most Loyal Subjects from their known Principles, that from their Principles of Discipline and Government, all Crown'd Heads are rather Vassals and Subjects to them, when ever it shall happen, that the (a) *Kirk* is able to exert Her Inherent Power, even to Excommunication, and Exclusion of the Civil Magistrate. Nor is the (b) *PRINCE* alone thus subject, but all the Laws of the Nation, which they shall judge any way relating to the (c) *Kirk*, (and what Law can they not, and in a manner have they not reduced to that Head) are so wholly in the Power of the *Kirk*, that they shall Null and make them Void without any Consent of the Legislature; and that by a Power inherent in the *Kirk*, Superiour to, and independent of all Authority of the Civil Magistrate, even by a Commission from *CHRIST*, of whose Extent they are the sole and proper Judges. Now that this is the known Principle of the *Presbyterian Kirk* by their Books of Discipline, and repeated Acts of their Assemblies, will be manifest to all, who will take the pains to peruse them.

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agree not with the Time, without any Reclamation or Appellation to any Judge Civil, or Ecclesiastical.

(a) *Vid. Bangor Declaration.*

(b) *Vid. 2 Book of Discipline, Cap. 2.*

(c) *Vid. 2 Book of Discipline, Cap. 7.*

This Assembly hath Power to abrogate and abolish all Statutes & Ordinances concerning Ecclesiastical Matters, that are found noy-

Nay some or unprofitable, and

Nay farther, by their known Principles their inherent Power extends even to the making War or Peace, and the Civil Magistrate is bound to consult them, and have their Consent, or else both He and his Army may be Excommunicated: For the Truth of which, I refer you first to the Answer of the General Assembly to the Paper presented from the Honourable the Committee of Estates, *August 1st. 1648.*

In which Paper they say, " As to their Lordships other desire
 " of our Demonstrating from the Word of God, that the *Kirk*
 " hath Interest in the Undertakings of War, and what that Interest is. We had thought this Point to be without Controversy
 " in this Kingdom; not only in respect of *Kirk* and *State* their
 " joyning and incorporating each in their proper Sphere, in the former Expeditions of this Kingdom into *England*; but also the
 " very Conferences, which have been between Committees of
 " *Kirk* and *State* concerning this Undertaking and Engagement,
 " do plainly suppose an Interest in the *Kirk* in such Affairs, and
 " though they do not pretend to any Politick Interest in such Undertakings, yet they have conscientious Interest, and there can
 " be no doubt of that made by such, as with *David*, *make the Testimonies of the Lord their Counsellors*, Ps. 119. 24. And consult
 " with God, as he used to do in undertaking War. It is also to
 " be remembred, that *Joshua* and all the Congregation of *Israel*
 " were commanded to go out and in at the word of *Eliazar* the
 " Priest, who was to take Counsel of the Lord for them, *Numb.*
 " 27, 28, &c. And they do conclude the whole Claim to their
 " Power in War and Peace thus. We shall here only mention one
 " passage containing a good and safe Rule in such Cases, the Duties of the Second Table, as well as the First, as namely the
 " Duties between King and Subjects, Parents and Children, &c.
 " be contained in the word of God, &c. And so are, so far as
 " concerneth the point of Conscience, subject of Ministerial Doctrine, and in Difficult Cases subject of Cognizance and Judgment to the Assemblies of the *Kirk*, vid. *Acts Gen. Assembly*,
 " pag. 403, 404.

Acts of Assen.
pag. 403, 404.

This Declaration of the Assembly was made to the Estates, who had, by an Act of Parliament, raised an Army to go into *England*, to rescue the King out of the Hands of the Sectaries; which Expedition the Assembly of the *Kirk* oppos'd, declaim'd against, and after-

afterwards did Excommunicate the Duke of *Hamilton*, and the whole Army, for engaging in that Expedition against the Consent of the Assembly. From this Military Principle of theirs, they did actually write to the King and tell him, *that Engagement had been carried on without clearing either of the Lawfulness or Necessity thereof*; therefore we having now examined the same by the Rule of Gods word, and having found it unlawful, as we have warned the whole Kingdom of the danger thereof, so we hold it our Duty also to warn your Majesty, &c, that you would be far from owning, or having any hand in this so *Unlawful an Engagement*, Acts Gen. Assembly, pag. 438.

Humble Supplication to the King. And we find that in July, 1648. Sess. 18. the General Assembly made an Act, Entituled, *An Act and Declaration against the Act of Parliament and Committee of the Estates, Ordain'd to be Subscrib'd the 10th and 12th of June, and against all new Oaths and Bonds in the Common Cause imposed without Consent of the Church*, Acts Gen. Assembly, pag. 376. This shall suffice at present for the known Principles of the Kirk, which are productive of known *Loyalty*. I will now proceed to shew how far their Actions have been conformable to their Principles in all Turns of Government, and will, as much as possible, confine my self to the very Words and Sentiments of most of the Queen's Royal Predecessors in relation to them, whereby you may judge what Sense they had of their *Untainted Loyalty* to Them in Their Respective Reigns. To begin then with Queen *Elizabeth*. We find in Her Speech to the Parliament *Anno Regni Decimo Septimo*, She says, (a)

(a) *Stow's Annals, Anno Regni 17.*

" That the Puritans are dangerous to Kingly Rule, every Man according to his own censure making Doom of the Validity or Pravity of his Prince's Government, with a common vail and cover of Gods Word: But again we find Her Sense of them more fully express'd

(b) *Holing's Chronicle, p. 1396.*

by Serjeant *Puckering*, Speaker of the House, in these words, (b) *" You are commanded by Her Majesty, says he, (c) That no ear be given to the wearisome Solicitations of those, that commonly call themselves Puritans, wherewith all the late Parliaments have been exceedingly Importun'd; which sort of People, whilst they labour to advance a* (d) *New Eldership, they do nothing else,*

(c) *Seasonable Advice at this Juncture.*

" but (e) disturb the Good People of the Church and Commonwealth. And as the present Case stands, it may be question'd, whether the Jesuits do offer more danger, &c. or be more speedily to be suppress. For albeit the Jesuits do empoison the

(d) *These you see were Presbyterians.*

(e) *What did they do ever since that time*

" Hearts

(a) Look at the ancient Original, and observe the Modern Copy in every Point.

(b) *Tho. Long* History of the Plots against the Church, p. 36.

(c) Was there ever a Parallel more exactly drawn, than the Behaviour of the Presbyterians upon the Spanish Invasion in 1588 and the French Invasion with the Pretender, 1708.

(d) *Sir Francis Walsingham's* Letter to Mr. *Critoy Cabala*, pag. 38, 39 Dr. *Burnet's* Hist. Refor. Appen. to Vol. 2.

(e) And name themselves now Presbyterians.

(f) *Mr. Boyse*, *Mr. Mc. Bride*, &c. their Violence in that Point in their Printed Papers not yet censured.

(g) *Vid. Mr. Boyse's* Scriptural Bishop, &c. his Advancements in the same words as then, both dangerous and popular, which those who are not blind may perceive.

Hearts of Her Majesties Subjects, &c. yet they do the same but closely and only in privy Corners ; but these Men do Publish in their Printed Books, and teach in all their Conventicles Opinions, not only dangerous to the Well-Settled Estate of this Realm, but also much Derogatory to Her Sacred Majesty, as well by denying Her Highness's Prerogative and Supremacy, as by offering Peril to Her Majesties Safety in both Kingdoms : In all which things, however they pretend to be at War with the Popish Jesuits, yet by the Separation of themselves from the Unity of their Fellow-Subjects, &c. (a) they do but joyn and concur with the Jesuits in opening the door and preparing the way for the Spanish Invasion that is threatned against this Realm. Agreeable to which (b) *Thomas Long* mentions, that in the Year, 1588. the King of Spain being thereunto encouraged by the great Divisions in England, sent His Armado upon the Coasts, (c) at which Time the Protestant Dissenters instead of Arming in Defence of the Queen and Themselves, did with greater Importunity and Confidence assault the Queen with Petitions and Libels, taking Advantage of the Times, as if they were more ready to assist the Spaniards, rather than Her Majesty, in case their Unreasonable Requests were not granted, of which see more in *Cambden's* Annals, Anno 1588. But to give you a greater Light into the Opinions and Proceedings of that Glorious Princess in relation to them, hear what Her (d) Secretary says to Monsieur *Critoy*, Secretary to the French King.

" For the other which have been Offensive to this State, though in other degree, which name themselves (e) *Reformers*, and we commonly call *Puritans* ; this hath been Her Proceeding towards them a great while, when they inveighed against such Abuses in the Church, as Pluralities, Non-Residence, and the like, their Zeal was not condemned, (f) only their Violence was sometimes censured.

" When thy refused the Use of some Ceremonies and Rites as Superstitious, they were Tollerated with much Connivance and Gentleness. Yea, when they call in Question the (g) Superiority of Bishops, and pretended to bring a Democracy into the Church,

“ Church, yet their Propositions were heard, considered, and by (a) The same
 “ contrary Writings debated and Discussed; yet all this while it way now o-
 “ was perceived, their Course was dangerous and very popular. vernment, the
 “ And because *Papistry* was odious, therefore it was ever in same ill Con-
 “ their mouths, that they sought to purge the Church from the sequence to
 “ Relicts of *Popery*, a thing acceptable to the People, who love the Liberties
 “ ever to run from one extream to another, &c. (a) besides they of Private Men
 “ opened the People a way to Government by their *Consistory* and and the Sove-
 “ *Presbytery*; a thing tho’ in Consequence no less prejudicial to reignty of Prin-
 “ the Liberties of Private Men, than to the Sovereignty of Prin- ces.
 “ ces, yet in the first Shew very popular. Nevertheless except it (b) Now also
 “ were in some Few, that enter’d into extream (b) Contempt, was is the general
 “ born with, because they pretended, but in dutyful manner, to Contempt, but
 “ make (c) Propositions and to leave it to the Providence of God, where the few
 “ and the Authority of the Magistrate. But now of late Years, Examples.
 “ when there issued from them a Colony of those, that affirmed (c) All these pro-
 “ (d) the Consent of the Magistrate was not to be attended, when positions now
 “ under pretence of a Confession, to avoid Slander and Imputati- put in practice
 “ ons, they combin’d themselves by Classes and Subscriptions, and (d) The Prin-
 “ when they began to make many (e) Subjects in doubt to take ciple of the
 “ an Oath, &c. Kirk, which
 “ When they began to vaunt of their Strength, and Numbers subverted the
 “ of their (f) Partisans, and to use the Communications that Constitution,
 “ their Cause would prevail, though with Uproar and Violence, never yet Re-
 “ then it appeared to be no more Zeal, no more Conscience, but peal’d, though
 “ more Faction and Division. And therefore though the State avow’d by the
 “ were compell’d to hold somewhat an harder Hand than before, Gen Assembly
 “ yet it was with as great Moderation, as the Peace of the Church of Scotland on
 “ and State would permit. all Occasions.

“ *tenders* Invasion, so many refused the Oaths tendered to them by the Commissioners of Array.

(f) Undertakers for the Party gave it out in *England* lately, That there was a great Ma-
 jority in Both Houses of Parliament in *Ireland*, who would be glad to enter into any Expe-
 dient to Repeal the *Sacramental Test*; nay, a list of their Names was pretended to be drawn up.

Mr. *Mc. Bride* in his Book of *Marriages*, says, the *Dissenters* have long possessed the North
 of *Ireland*, tho’ they have not the Hundredth Part of the Property of the Province of *Ulster*.

And as the judicious Historian, Doctor *Burnet* Present Bishop of
Sarum observes, (g) *Queen Elizabeth’s* strict enjoying Uniformity (g) *Burnet’s*
 making some turbulent Persons Examples, countenancing the Clergy, Hist. Reform.
 Preface to Vol.
 &c. 2d.

&c. and the Sincerity and Watchfulness of the Council, and the Inferiour Officers, preserved Peace all Her Reign. Things past, they say, are good Prognosticks of Things to come: And as the Presbyterians of Ireland, upon the Invasion of the Pretender, followed the Track of their most Loyal Predecessors in every Step they made upon the Spanish Invasion: So they know not how far their Behaviour now may put Her Present Majesty under a Necessity of making also some Persons Examples, who have had the Impudence to say publicly, They neither would themselves, nor advise any of their Perswasion to take up Arms in Defence of Her Majesties Person and Government, when the Pretender was upon our Coasts. Which Opinion so prevail'd amongst the People, that Numbers in different Parts of the North refused to bear Arms, or take the Oaths to the Government upon the Array of the Militia at that Time. I say, such Proceedings may oblige Her Present Majesty now, as it did Her Glorious Predecessor Queen Elizabeth upon the like Occasion, to make such Persons Examples. It may quicken the Watchfulness of the Council, and Inferiour Officers, and oblige Her to hold the Reins of Government with such Strictness and Steadfastness of Hand, (a) that the Nation how Head-strong soever, will not be able to run into such desperate Confusion, from which nothing but the hand of God did deliver us.

(a) Ibid.

Thus far you have the Sense of Queen Elizabeth by Her self, Her Speaker, and Secretary, of the Untainted Loyalty of the Presbyterians under Her Government.

You are next to take the Sense of Her Successor King James the First. And here I do solemnly protest to you, that I think it would raise the Indignation of any Ingenious Man and Loyal Subject to read the Account, that not only Bishop Spotswood, but even Petre, and Calderwood give of their Treatment of that Prince and His Royal Family. In short, the Assembly of the Kirk, rejecting all His Authority, and convening themselves, and subverting the whole Constitution as they pleased, (b) did treat Him so indecently, so insolently, I may say, barbarously upon all Occasions, that no Body can wonder, that that much Injur'd Prince should tell His Son in (c) His Basilicon Doron, *I have been vex'd by these Puritans from my very Birth, yea, they persecuted Me whilst I was yet in my Mothers Belly, and it must be little that they had not murdered me before I was Born.*

(b) Vid. All the Scotch Ecclesiastical Historians.

(c) Basilicon Doron.

I think, I cannot give you a juster view into this Matter, in letting you understand who these *Puritans* were, and how they proceeded, than to give you the words of a Sermon Preach'd before the Parliament of *England* in the Year, 1588. (a) by Doctor *Bancraft*, afterwards Archbishop of *Canterbury*, wherein he says, "About some Six or Seven Years ago, certain Men of the New Government intending the Erection of these *Presbyteries* in *Scotland*, began their Parts and proceeded, as follows, "First, They did greatly inveigh against the Superiority of Bishops; and the Kings Authority in Matters Ecclesiastical, whereupon in His, i. e. King *James* His Minority, certain Number of Ministers, gathering to themselves (b) certain Gentlemen, and divers others, did erect by their own Authority Ecclesiastical Senates, (c) who did alter the Laws at their pleasure, without either the Knowledge or Approbation of King or State. "Secondly, (d) They discharg'd the Bishops, (e) commanded the King and Council under pain of Excommunication never to appoint any more. Because they had concluded that State to be Unlawful. "Thirdly, They prescribed Laws for the King (f) and State, maintain'd before the King, That *He was an Incompetent Judge*, and utterly disclaim'd His Authority, that for such Matters as were spoken in the Pulpit, they ought to be (g) exempt from the Judgment and Correction of Princes.

(a) Dr. Bancraft's Sermon to the Parliament in 1588. pag. 60. (b) viz. Lay-Elders. (c) What do they do now in their Provincial Synods (d) What did they do after? (e) They tell the States and the Queen now That a Toleration of Episcopacy would Establish Iniquity by Law. (f) Vid. Representation of the Commissioners of the Gen. Assembly to the Parliament, 1647. (g) Quære, What can be the Opinion of

our modern *Presbyterian Preachers* now, who do openly and scurrilously Preach against our Constitution, particularly Mr. *Mc. Bride*, who was call'd before the Council for his Sermon Preach'd at the Synod in *Antrim*, and Mr. *Boyse* his insolent Treatment of our Constitution in his Sermon against *Episcopacy*.

I think it needless for me to mention any of the words of King *Charles* the First, His Injuries and Blood cry louder than the Noise of Thunder; however thus far take His own still Voice in His Advice to His (h) Son.

"If ever you stand in need of them, id est, the *Presbyterians*, you are undone: *The Serpent will devour the Dove*. You may never expect less of Loyalty, Justice, or Humanity than from those, who engage into Religious Rebellion; their Interest is always made their God.

(h) *Eicon Basilicon*, Cap. 27. Advice to his Son.

(a) Proclamation, April, 30th. 1662.

(b) Has not the great Clemency of the Government to the modern

Presbyterians encourag'd them to invade our United and Settled Conforming Congregations, by sending their *Missionaries* to frame Conventicles, and pervert the People from their Confor-

" Under the Colours of Piety ambitious Policies march, not only with greatest Security, but Applause of the People: You shall hear from them *Jacob's Voice*, but you shall feel they have *Esau's Hands*.

I cannot at present produce any Expressions relating to them from King *Charles* the Second; but let the Laws made against them in His Reign in the Three Kingdoms speak for him, let the Proclamations from the Government, not only in *England* and *Scotland*, but in *Ireland*, speak for Him; particularly that from the Government of *Ireland*, (a) Dated the 30th of April, 1662. in these words, *Whereas Indulgence to, and Forbearance of Dissenters, and Non-Conforming Persons of several Perswasions hath been long time used, and yet the Event hath not answered the Expectation; but Recusants, Non-Conformists, and Sectaries have grown worse by* (b) *Clemency*. Therefore, &c. Let these Laws and Proclamations speak that PRINCE's sense of them.

mity to the Laws of the Land and Establish'd Religion, by baffling all Prosecutions against them, as in the Case of Mr. *Mc. Bride*, and in that of *Drogheda*, and by terrifying their Prosecutors; so that they were forced to shut the Prison Door to keep these Invaders out, as fast as they had before to keep them in? Has not this Clemency given those *Loyalists* the Assurance openly and avowdly to declare themselves *Conditional Subjects*, and the Condition of their Subjection to be the Repeal of the TEST; as appears by the *Parallel* before mentioned, writ to threaten the Parliament into the Repeal of the TEST, which says, pag. 20.

If ever the Papists in *Ireland* should Rebel and Commence a New Massacre; and the Protestants of the Church of *Ireland* say to the Dissenters, come help the Lord against the Mighty; and the Dissenters should say, No, Gentlemen, We are not to be Majors and Officers, &c. pray take care of your selves, fight for your selves, be your own Gunners, &c. We appeal to the World, whether they ought not to answer thus, and but thus, if ever the Case comes to. *Parallel*, pag. 20.

(c) History of the late Conspiracy by Dr. Sprat.

(d) Acts Gen Assembly, pag 484.

(e) Vid. Address by the Presbyterian Ministers of Scotland to King James, Dated July, 21st. 1687.

And let the (c) *Rye-House Plot* in *England*, the Murder of the Arch-Bishop of *St. Andrew's*, and the Rebellion subsequent to it in *Scotland*, the Attempt of Seizing the Duke of *ORMONDE* in *Ireland*, in each whereof the *Presbyterians* had the greatest Hand. Above all, let their Opposing His Restauration both from the *Kirk Assemblies* in *Scotland* and *Ireland*, as I will make appear, and the unchristian and scandalous Aspersions thrown upon Him in their (d) Letter from the Assembly to Him, Dated from *Edinburgh*, which I will presently produce, speak for their Untainted Loyalty in that Turn of Government.

It must be own'd, that (e) King *James* the Second treated them kindly, and gave them good words, and that they were not behind

hind with him, for His granting them a Toleration by His *Absolute Authority* against the Laws of Scotland. " For which Royal Favours, His Majesties most *Loyal Subjects* the Ministers of the *Presbyterian Perswasion* in Scotland, from the due sense they had of His Majesties most Gracious Favour, &c. do most earnestly desire His Most Gracious Majesty to accept of their most Humble Address, as proceeding from the Plainness and Sincerity of *Loyal* and Thankful Hearts, much engaged by His Royal Favour to continue their fervent Prayers to the King of Kings for all Blessings Spiritual and Temporal ever to attend His Royal Person and Government.

This Address was Dated 1687. and 'tis highly probable, that even that most Gracious Sovereign of theirs chang'd His Opinion in less than Two Years, when the Claim of Rights of Scotland (a) was made in April, 1689. beginning thus, *Whereas King JAMES the Seventh being a Profess'd Papist did assume the Regal Power, and acted as King, without ever taking the Oath required by Law, &c. They declare that by the Law of this Kingdom no Papist can be the KING or QUEEN of this Realm.* This I take to be the *Ara*, from whence they must date their *Loyalty*. For as it is most certain, that King *William*, that Glorious PRINCE of Immortal Memory, was very tender of them, and was their Great Benefactor, Establish'd them in Scotland, gave them a Toleration in England, and took off the *Oath of Supremacy*, which Oath did as effectually preclude them from Offices of Trust then, as the *Sacramental Test* does now; there being then as few *Occasional Jurors*, as there are now *Occasional Conformists*: So it is as certain that they were *Faithful and Loyal Subjects* to that Glorious PRINCE in that *Turn of Government*; though it be also as notorious, after all the Concessions He made them, how they press'd upon Him, and teas'd Him at last, and how little regard the General Assembly Sitting in Scotland (after the Establishment of the *Kirk*) had to the Repeated Letters He writ to them in behalf of the *Episcopal Dissenters*, who were Rabbled and Persecuted there; which I may have an opportunity of showing at another time, however their *Untainted Loyalty* was shewn in that *Turn of Government*, upon which they have built so universal a Pretence and Claim to *Untainted Loyalty*, how justly I leave to the unprejudiced Reader to judge; yet I think it became them to have been so modest and

(a) Claims of Rights, April, 1689.

(a) *Vid. Address to the Queen by the Dissenting Ministers of the North of Ireland.*

ingenuous in their Addresses to the Queen, and their manner of Assurance given of their *Loyalty* to Her, as not to have boasted thus of their *known Loyalty in all Turns of Government*, (a) or to have told Her Majesty, That *they could not in their Consciences neglect this Opportunity of Expressing their deep Regret, that the Gentlemen and People of their Perswasion were deprived of Serving Her Majesty and their Country, which they so successfully improv'd upon all former Occasions.* I say, had they been so modest, not to have made demands (as it were) from the Crown for a Repeal of the *Test* upon unjust grounds, and in such a manner, they might justly have hoped for Her Majesties *Tenderness and gracious Indulgence*, which they never wanted, and doubtless will still have whilst they keep themselves within the bounds of that *Untainted Loyalty*, to which they pretend.

(b) *Parallel, pag. 9.*

But to descend from the general Claim of *Untainted Loyalty in all Turns of Government*, made by the *Presbyterian Ministers* on their Address to the Queen before-mentioned, I will now proceed to answer the Challenge, made by the Author of the (b) *Parallel*, pag. 9. which is to shew the *Rebellions, the Associations, Factions, &c. which the Dissenters of Ireland ever raised against their Prince, though they should go back to the Years 41, 48, and 60.* The grounds upon which this Author advances his Challenge, and the Arguments by which he proves his Assertion, are these Three.

(c) *Vid. Representation from the Presbytery of Belfast, Feb. 1649.*

The First is taken from a Representation of the *Presbytery* (c) of *Belfast*, Dated *February, 15th 1649.* wherein they declare their Detestation of all the Proceedings in *England*, and inveigh against the *Sectaries* there, for putting the King to Death.

(d) *Vid. Milton's Works, pag. 566, 567.*

The Second Argument is, because (d) *Milton*, who was the King's known Enemy, does abuse and rail at the *Northern Presbyterians of Ireland*, for Declaring against the *Sectaries in England*,

(e) *Vid. Parallel, pag. 9.*

and (e) their *Proceedings against the King, and with cruel Hands putting Him to Death.*

The Third Argument is a very strong Averment of his own, (f) *Vid. Parallel, pag. 10.* That the *Northern Presbyterians being most of them Dissenters were the most Effectual Barriers of the Royal Party at that time, and were left as a Sanctuary, to which the Duke of ORMONDE, and the Royal Party retreated.*

To begin then *First* with the Challenge in general, I do here appeal to the Records of the *Kirk of Scotland*, and desire this Challenger to look into the Acts of the General Assembly, (which

I presume he will allow better Authority, than any he has brought) and in that Interval betwixt 41. and 48. he will find there Three Petitions from the *Dissenters* of the *North of Ireland* to the General Assembly in *Scotland*; the First in *July*, (a) 1642. sent by *James Gordon* and *Hugh Campbel*; the Second was Dated (b) *August* 5th 1643; the Third in (c) *May*, 1645. from *Belfast*, delivered by *William Mc. Hennah*, Merchant. In all which Petitions you will plainly discover what their Temper and Disposition then was, both to the King and the Royal Party, I will here only mention what is said in the last Petition, wherein they thank the Assembly for their Zeal to have the Reformation spread; whereof say they, “ you have given us an ample and famous Testimony in sending “ hither the Blessed League and Covenant, which we much desired and long’d for, &c. And we conceiving it a chief part of “ our Misery, to consist in the want of an Opportunity to joyn “ our selves with the People of God in the aforesaid League, (esteeming our selves rejected of God, and unfit to be joyned in “ any comfortable Fellowship in the Gospel with them) when the “ said League and Covenant was presented to the Regiments, we “ made bold to lay hold upon the Opportunity; that if we “ dye in our Misery, we may dye a Covenanted People, &c. (d) “ We are nothing shaken in our Minds with the odious Aspersions of *Sedition*, *Combination against the King*, and *Overthrow of the Municipal Laws*, with which our Covenant is branded, &c. But to corroborate the Authority of this Record, though it be very Authentick, I have One more (not less valid) to produce; ’tis a Record of the *Kirk of Ireland*, and this I the rather choose amongst others, that I may engage the Challenger in his own way, and oppose a Declaration from the *Presbytery* at *Bangor*, against the Representation from the *Presbytery* at *Belfast*, both Dated in the same Year, 1649.

This Declaration of the *Presbytery* at (e) *Bangor* is levelld chiefly against the Lord of *Ards*, for Cloathing himself with a Commission (as they say) “ from His Majesty King *Charles* the Second, “ who as yet refuses to give any Satisfaction in Religion unto the “ just Desires of the Kingdom of *Scotland*; and the Executing of “ such a Commission, is nothing but endeavouring to Set up the “ Kings Majesty not only before Religion, but in a Quarrel destructive to Religion, &c. The Lord of *Ards* is also accused in “ this

(a) Acts of
Gen. Assembly
pag. 149.

(b) Ibid. pag.
161.

(c) Ibid. pag.
215.

(d) Acts Gen.
Assembly, pag.
215.

(e) Declaration
of the Pres-
bytery at Ban-
gar, in the year
1649.

“ this Declaration for saying, that *the King's Commission did ever procure Respect till the worst of Times*; for (say they) if refusing any Commission from the King was in the worst of Times, then surely the Taking of the Covenant, and Casting out of Prelacy, Bringing down Malignants, all against a Personal Commission, are accounted by his Lordship to flow from the Iniquity of the times. He is also charged for Receiving a Commission from the Lord of ORMONDE; and that he puts on a Commission, which binds him to maintain the *Protestant Religion* in the large Sense, &c. For this Cause (say they) as we are the Embassadors of Christ, particularly we Charge all those, who have received the Covenant, &c. not to joyn in Executing such a Commission, by Serving either as Officers or Soldiers, else the Quarrel of the Covenant shall pursue them, &c. Now if we compare this Declaration with that Address before mentioned, would it not raise a mans Indignation, to find that Men will stick at nothing to gain a Point, and amuse the World with such gross and palpable Misrepresentations.

In the Year 1649. We find a *Presbytery* framing a Declaration as an Act of that Assembly, in which they avow the Covenant, oppose the Restoration, deny the Kings Commission, denounce the Censure of the *Kirk* against all who dare be Loyal, and take up Arms either as Officers or Soldiers for the King; And in the Year, 1708. we find an Address to the QUEEN, by the Successors of those Loyalists, confidently assuring the Queen, that

(a) Address from the Presbyterian Ministers Feb. 1708. (a) *their Untainted Loyalty in all Turns of Government has been the natural Consequence of their known Principles.* This is such a refined piece of Assurance, so gross an Imposition upon the Queen and all Mankind, that I leave it to the Unprejudiced Reader to make such Reflections and Inferences from it, as must naturally arise in the mind of an ingenuous honest man. So far I have answered this Challenger, and joyned issue with him in shewing some of the *Plots, Associations, and Façons of the Dissenters of Ireland in that Period*, which he mentions betwixt 41. and 60.

I will proceed in the next place to clear this Matter farther, by examining the several Arguments he uses to prove his Assertion.

(b) *Vid. Representation of the Presbyterians of Belfast in 1649.* The First is taken from the Representation of the *Presbytery* in Belfast in the Year, 1649. in which they do declaim against the *Sectaries of England* for the barbarous Treatment of the King, &c. from whence he concludes, that *this sufficiently clears the Dissenters*

of Ireland from having an hand in the Counsels of those Days. In Answer to which, I do first allow the Authority of that Record, that in the Year, 1649. such a Representation was made by that *Presbytery*, and must put him in mind, that there were also in the very same Year several more made in *England* and *Scotland*, by the *Presbyterians* to the very same purpose, and with as great Virulency against the *Sectaries* in *England* for their Proceedings, and particularly for their Murdering the King. But I can by no means conclude with that Author, that the *Presbytery* of *Belfast's* Disclaiming that Fact and Railing at the *Sectaries*, is any Argument at all for their not being concern'd in the Counsels of those Times. Because the same Argument is full as strong for the *Presbyterians* of *Scotland* and *England*, who in the very same Year made their Representation to King *Charles* the Second to the very same purpose; to prove which, see *Dugdale* in his View of the late Trou-

bles of *England*, pag. 377. (a) I cannot deny, (says that Author) but as soon as this Hellish Murder was committed, many of the *Presbyterians* did loudly disclaim against it, seeming as much to wash their hands of the Guilt, as *Pilate* did from the Death of our Blessed Saviour. And accordingly I find, that in a Letter from the Assembly

(a) Vid. Dugdale's View of the Troubles of England, pag. 377.

(b) in *Scotland* to the King, Dated August 6th. 1649. they express themselves in these words, our Witness is in Heaven, and Record on High, that we are not conscious to our selves of any undutiful Thought, or disloyal Affection, &c. and that we do from our Hearts abominate and detest that Horrid Fact of the *Sectaries* against the Life of your Royal Father, &c. Thus it is Evident, that the *Presbyterians* through the Three Kingdoms did with one Voice loudly declaim against the *Sectaries*, as Authors of the King's Murder; nor were their vast Clamours confin'd to these Kingdoms, but reached all over *Europe*, though not with the Success they expected; For we find *Salmasius* in his *Defensio Regia pro Carolo Primo*, declaring his Sense of the Matter thus, (c) Nunc ad eam Questionem pervenimus

(b) Vid. Acta Gen. Assembly pag. 480, 481.

&c. The Question was, Whether *Presbyterians*, or *Independants* were the Real Authors of the King's Death: And he resolves the Question very fairly against the *Presbyterians* by the Application of this Fable, " If a Robber, says he, surprizing a Traveller in a Wood, should disarm him, rob him, strip him, and tie him to a Tree, and a wild Beast of the Forrest coming upon him thus bound, should fall upon him, tear him in pieces, and devour him,

(c) Salmasius Def. Reg. pro Carolo I. pag. 353. Cap. 10.

him, which of these, properly speaking, would be the Cause of this Man's Death? 'Tis most certain, that the *Independents* were actually the Murderers of King *Charles* the First; but it is as certain, that the *Presbyterians* first murder'd Him in His Political Capacity, as a Prelude to the Murder of His Person, they compell'd Him to give up all His Power to them, and then did, as (a) *Dugdale* observes, worse than murder Him in the manner and circumstances of His Confinement, before the *Independents* pull'd them out of the Saddle, and forc'd the King out of their Hands, and were the actual Executioners of that ROYAL MARTYR, whom the *Presbyterians* had first in effect Condemn'd. From all which it evidently appears, That neither these Declarations in *Scotland* and *England*, nor that from *Belfast* disclaiming the King's Murder, have the least force in Proving the *Presbyterians* of either of the Three Kingdoms to be free from the Counsels of those Days.

(a) *Vid. Dugdale's View of the Troubles of England*, p. 376, 377.

The Second Argument brought to clear the *Dissenters* of *Ireland*. (b) *Milton's* is, Because (b) *Milton*, the King's sworn Enemy, does most scurrilously abuse and rail at the *Presbytery* of *Belfast*. I do confess, that *Milton* does abuse them, if calling them *egregious Lyers*, and *Impostors*, *blockish Presbyters*, &c. be Abuses. But that Gentleman may assure himself, that *Milton* uses the General Assembly of *Scotland* with no less Ceremony, than he does the *Presbytery* of *Belfast*, and for the very same Reason, when he tells *Salmasius* in his Answer to his *Defensio Regia*, who had said, that the *Scotch* had, in a Letter to the King's Son, call'd His Father the Most Sacred Prince, and the Putting Him to Death, a most execrable Villany.

(c) *Milton's Defence of the People of England against Salmasius*, pag. 232.

(c) Do not you, says *Milton*, talk of the *Scotch*, whom you know not, we know them well enough, and know the Time, when they call'd that same King a most execrable Person, a Murderer, a Traytor; and Putting a Tyrant to Death a most sacred Act. Thus instead of Justifying the *Presbyterians* of *Ireland*, and Serving their Successors (against his Intention) in their Pretences to Loyalty; *Milton* does equally rail at their Loyal Brethren in *Scotland*, for their Prevarication, and yet I suppose our Challenger will not pretend to exempt them, from being concern'd in the Counsels of those Days, for that Reason.

(d) *Parallel*, pag. 9, 10.

(e) *Parallel*, pag. 10.

(d) The Last Argument is an Averment of his own, (for which he quotes not any particular Author) (e) That the Northern Protestants, being most of them *Dissenters*, were the Effectual Barriers of the Royal

Royal Interest, and were left as a Sanctuary, to which the Duke of ORMONDE and the Royal Party retreated, &c.

To give you some undeniable Instances of their great Affection and Tenderness to the *Loyal Party*, read what the *Presbyterian Dissenters* of the *North* say in their Petition to the General Assembly in *Scotland* in the Year, 1642. in which they do importune the Assembly for a Mission of Ministers to them in this manner,

“ If there be any Contolation in Christ, &c. that now in the nick of time, when the Sword of the (b) Enemy making way for a more profitable Entertainment of the Gospel, having also banished the Prelates and their Followers, you will take the Cause of your Younger Sister, that hath no Breasts, into your Consideration. Is not this a wondrous Mark of their Tenderness, and Protection of the Loyal Episcopal Party at that Time ; when their Banishment by the *Papists* was reckoned by these charitable Brethren, (c) *the opening a door* (as they say there) *for the planting of the Gospel*, as if they reputed them *Infidels*. And again in another Petition for a farther Supply of Ministers, Dated *August*, 1645. (d) they tell the Assembly, *they fear*, “ *if a new delay be procured till all things be fully settled, in the mean time the Prelatists and their Faction* (*ideft*, the *Loyal Party*) *may step in and invest themselves of their old Tyranny over our Consciences, who if they shall once see us possess of our own Inheritance, these Canaanites dare not offer to force us out.*

(a) Acts Gen. Assembly. p. 149.

(b) By the Enemy here is meant the *Papistry*, who at this time had not molested the *Presbyterians*.

(c) Vid. Acts Gen. Assembly. p. 149.

(d) Vid. Acts Gen. Assembly. p. 161.

But to give you a just Notion of the *Sanctuary*, which they gave the Duke of ORMONDE with his Loyal Party, see the (e) Declaration of the *Presbytery at Bangor* before mention'd, and there you will find the “ Lord of *Airds* accused and railed at for taking a Commission from him ; the *Marquess of ORMONDE*, say they, from whom he is to receive Commands, *is an avow'd Maintainer of Prelacy, and retains still the old English Liturgy in his Publick Devotions*, &c. All these things make it as clear as the Sun, the Unlawfulness of his Authority from such a Commission ; for this Cause, as the Embassadors of Christ, we charge all, &c. not to joyn in the Executing such a Commission by Serving either as Officers or Soldiers, We do also in the Name of Jesus Christ warn the People of our Charge, to keep themselves from all Compliance with their ungodly Course, either by speaking favourably of them, or acknowledging the Authority

(e) Vid. Bangor Declaration.

“ of the *Marquess of ORMONDE*, &c. by imposing a Cess, obeying their Order, or paying Cess unto their Army, all which is a sinfull Compliance and Breach of Covenant by supplying that which is the Sinews of War, Money and Victuals. This is the *Sanctuary* which the *Marquess of ORMONDE*, and the *Royal Party* met with from them, not a Morsel of Bread, not a Penny of Money, nor a good Word for them, and that by a Publick Act of a *Presbytery*. How will that Great, Loyal, and much Injur'd Person rise up in judgment against all those Misrepresenters, who would have those to be look't on as His Friends and Supporters, that would rather have given Him a Stone than Bread, a Prison than an *Asylum*, and how wou'd he embrace the Present *INHERITOR* of His Glory and Titles, for His Zeal and signal Service to His Country, in Promoting and Passing the *Act to prevent the farther Growth of Popery*, which may for the future secure His Posterity from the Injuries and Insolences He met with from both *Papists & Dissenters*, either of which were better disposed to pull Him from the Horns of the Altar for a Sacrifice, than to afford Him a *Sanctuary*, had He fled to them for Refuge.

Thus I have fully answer'd the Challenger in Searching the Records, and Tracing the Behaviour of the *Northern Presbyterians* in the Interval mention'd, and do leave it to the Decision of any Unprejudiced Man, to judge whether *They were concern'd in any Plots, Associations, and Factions against the King*; whether *They were the Barriers of the Loyal Party*, and the *Sanctuary*, which receiv'd the Duke of *ORMONDE*, and protected the *Royalists*.

And now, Sir, As a greater Security against the Tricks and Artifices of some sort of Men, who you see manifestly do stick at nothing to gain their Point, give me leave to Conclude with some Reflections, which do naturally arise from the Matters of Fact I have shew'd from the Histories of *those Times*.

The *First* is, That when the Cry of *Loyalty* is raised by *Presbyteries*, and Assemblies of the *Kirk*, 'tis high Time for the *Church* to be upon Her Guard. For *LOYALTY* was the word, when the Assembly of *Scotland* had promoted the Covenant, influenc'd the People to take up Arms against their Natural *PRINCE*; nay, whilst they harrafs'd the King almost to Death, extorted unreasonable Concessions from the Difficulties and Streights to which they had

had reduced Him; yet still their *Loyal* Hearts overflow'd with an unexhausted Spring of *Loyalty*; nay, they wished for *Casements in their Breasts*, that the King might see how their *Loyal* Hearts beat, as is manifest from all their Petitions, Addresses, Remonstrances, &c. at that time. I will give you but two or three Instances of many.

The General Assembly met at *St. Andrews*, in an humble Supplication to the King, Dated *August 3d. 1642.* (a) *do, with Hearts full of Joy and Gladness, send a hearty Thanksgiving to His Majesty, for His Affection to the Reform'd Religion, and His Royal Care of them, &c.* (d) *Acts Gen Assembly, pag 123.*

And in the very same Session, (perhaps the same Day) in which their *Loyal* Hearts were fill'd with such Thanksgiving for His Royal Favours, do they write to the Parliament of *England*, telling them *in terminis*, (b) *That they do confidently expect, that England will now bestir themselves in the best way for a Reformation, &c. and do most willingly offer their utmost Endeavours to farther so great a work, that they can have no hope for a durable Peace, till Prelacy be pluck'd up Root and Branch, as a Plant which God hath not planted.* (b) *Acts Gen Assembly, pag 129, 130.*

When King *Charles the First* was in the Hands of the *Sectaries*, in the Year, 1648. and the States of *Scotland* assembled in Parliament had rais'd a *Loyal* Army to be sent into *England*, for to Rescue His Person if possible, and mediate for Peace, The Commission of the General Assembly did remonstrate against so Glorious an Undertaking, bitterly inveigh against the *Marquess of Hamilton*, and excommunicate him and that whole Army; and at the same time send an humble Supplication to His Majesty, Dated the 12th of *August, 1648.* wherein they tell His Majesty, (c) *it shall be your Wisdom in this, as in all that hath befall'n You these Years past, to read the Righteous Hand of the Lord, writing bitter things against You for all Your Provocations, so especially for resisting His Work, and authorizing by Your Commissions the Shedding of the Blood of His People, for which it is high Time to Repent, &c. If Your Majesty had been pleas'd to hearken to our Council some Years ago, the Blood of many Thousands, which lies at Your Majesties Throne might have been spared, Popery, Prelacy, Idolatrie, Superstition, Prophane-ness, Heresie, Error, Sects, and Schisms might have been extirpate, &c. And in this very humble Supplication they do tell His Majesty, That the Searcher of Hearts knows, and our Consciences bear* (c) *Acts Gen Assembly, pag 437, 438, 439.*

Record unto us, that we bear in our Spirits those humble and dutiful Respects to Your Majesty, that Loyal Subjects owe to their Native Sovereign. Nor was their Cry of *Loyalty* less to King Charles the Second. For when the Assembly expected the Return of that PRINCE, they write a Letter to Him, Dated the 6th of June, 1649. wherein they load Him with all His Father's Guilt, (as they say) and in which, " They desire Him to humble Himself under " the mighty Hand of God, and lament for the Iniquities of His " Father's House, and for the Shedding of so much Blood of the " People of God, as also for His own Entering to walk in the like " Courses, and tell Him plainly, if His Majesty shall go on in " refusing to hearken to wholesome Counsels (which was to take " the Covenant, extirpate *Episcopacy* root and branch, &c.) we " must for the Discharge of our Conscience tell Your Majesty, " that the Lord's Anger is not turn'd away, but His Hand, *i. e.* " (a) *Acts Gen.* " (a) the *Kirk's* is stretched out against You and Your Family, &c. " And yet these very Men tell His Majesty in the same Letter, That *their Tenderneſs and Uprightneſs of Affection and Love is ſo great, that many Waters cannot quench it; That their Witneſs is in Heaven, and their Record on High, that they are not conſcious to themſelves of any undutiful Thought, or diſloyal Affection.*

(a) *Acts Gen.*
Assembly, pag
480.

This Cry of *Loyalty* we find is reviv'd at this Time, and rais'd by the *Kirk* of Ireland. *Untainted Loyalty* is now the Word, and that from a Northern Synod of *Presbyterian Ministers*, when several of the Members of that Synod refuse the *Oath of Abjuration*, and these *Nonjuring Loyalists* are avowedly protected by the rest; when the same *Nonjuring* Principles are diffused amongst the People, and Numbers of them, so influenced, have absolutely refused to take such Oaths to the Government, as were demanded upon the Array of the *Militia*. When they do openly declare both in Words and Writings, and insinuate even in their Addresses, That *they will not take up Arms in Defence of Her Majesties Person and Government either upon an Invasion, or the Insurrection of Her People, except the QUEEN will give the Sword into their Hands, give them Commissions, and put it in their Power to protect that Constitution, which they think themselves at the same time bound in Conscience to subvert.* And it is also Notorious, that when their *Loyal Predecessors* had wrested the Power of the *Militia* out of the Hands of Her Royal Grandfather, there was no standing against their (b) *Rage*, but they did from that Minute bear down all before them.

(b) *Vid. Clarendon's Hist.*
of the Rebellion.

Thus

Thus *Loyalty* was the Word then, when they cry'd out, even in the Hearing of King *Charles the First*, *To your Tents, to your Tents O Israel*; and we find it now the Word, when they do in effect cry out, *Sheath your Swords, for they who draw the Sword, shall perish by the Sword, though it were in Defence of the QUEEN's Person and Government.*

The Last Observation I will make, is, that this great Pretence to *Untainted Loyalty* to all the Queen's Royal Predecessors has manifestly Two Faces, One respecting the Queen, the Other the People, and calculated, not only as Perswasives to the one, but chiefly as Appeals to the other. For if the Queen refuses the modest Demands of these *most injur'd Loyalists*, it is a most ungrateful Return for the great *Expence of their Blood and Fortune in the Service of Her Royal Predecessors*; and this Refusal is a most noble Handle of appealing to the People, and a Pretence to raise the Cry of Persecution. For it is most Evident to any Person, who is conversant in the Histories of *Presbyterian Policy*, (a) that the manner of Framing, Subscribing, Applying, and Publishing their Addresses either to the King, or Parliament, was the main Spring of their Grand Political Machine, that subverted the Constitution; all Occasions were then taken of Addressing the Crown or Parliament, and whatever the Subjects of their Addresses were, there was constantly an Occasion taken of insinuating their own great Merit, and unequal Returns made to them, the Trumpet of their *Loyalty* founded loud and shrill in the Preamble of their Addresses, that the soft Notes of their Persecution & Grievances might sound more mournful and moving to the People, their boldest Demands were urged in (b) submissive Terms, according to the Notion they had of their own Powers, or the Difficulties of the Publick, and they were represented sometimes so modest and reasonable, that the Granting of them might seem only a Debt, and the Refusal of them a great Injury: And this way they took then to appeal to, and tumultuate the People; but when they were perswaded of their own Power, or that the Publick labour'd under any Pressures, they never fail'd rising from humble Petitions to modest Requests, from

(a) *Vid. Clar.*
1st Vol. 80. p.
203. The great
Disingenuity
used in Petiti-
ons, 1st to pre-
pare a Petition
very modest &
dutiful for the
Form, and for
the Matter not
very unreason-
able, &c.

(b) The Scots presented a Petition to the King full of dutiful and humble Expressions, who well knew their Time, and had always given the King, how rough and undutiful soever their Actions were, as good and submissive Words, as can be imagined, *Clarendon's Hist.* Vol. 1st. 80. pag. 155.

Requests

(a) The Scots had from the Beginning a new sturdy Stile of Address, in which, under the License of accusing the Counsel and Carriage of Others, whom yet they never named, they bitterly and insolently reproached the most immediate Actions and Directions of His Majesty Himself; and then made the greatest Professions of Duty to His Majesties Person that could be invented, *Clarendon's Hist. 80, Vol 1st. pag. 121, 122.*

Requests to (a) Demands, and from Demands to Violence and Rapine; these have been the Steps, by which they raised themselves and ascended the Throne of the Temporal Prince, when they were to restore CHRIST to His Kingdom, and retrieve His Power sacrilegiously usurp'd by the Civil Magistrate. What Steps they have taken in these Tracts, and how far they have proceeded of late in Rising from

grateful Acknowledgments for the Queen's Gracious Indulgence, to the Boasting of their Merit, and Her unequal Returns, till at length they have arrived even to threaten the Legislature into a Repeal of the *Test*, as they tender the Security of their Persons and Constitution, I will leave the World to judge from their Publick Addresses and Writings, and the Speeches of the Gifted Speakers and popular Agitators.

I did think of answering the Postscript of your Letter, in which you desire my Opinion of the *Presbyterian* Persecution, as is pretended, but I find that Subject is so copious, that it will require an entire Letter, which you may expect soon; and I make not the least doubt to shew, that the *Establish'd Church of Ireland* is so far from the Principle of Persecution, that She has scarce retain'd the Principle of Self-Preservation.

I am, (SIR,)

Your most Obedient,

Humble Servant, &c.

A
DECLARATION
BY THE
Presbytery at Bangor.
The Seventh of *July*, 1649, &c.

[*A Declaration*]
This Declaration affording us a very just notion of the Presbyterian Loyalty in those days, it will not be amiss to set it forth with a few brief Observations upon it.

AS we have upon every Remarkable Change of Affairs in this Land, from our Watch-Tower (a) blown the Trumpet unto the People, by setting before them the true State of their own Condition, and giving them Warning of their Duty in these dark and troublesome Times: So a greater Myserie of Iniquity being now discovered, than was any before, and of greater Danger to the People of God, than any former Design which has been known among us; we cannot forbear to cry aloud to our Flocks, to beware of ravenous Wolves, who are risen to devour them. The Danger we were in by *Sectaries*, we have formerly represented at large, and have sufficiently vindicated our selves in all our Actions relating to them. The late unexpected Invasion of (b) *Malignants*, we have faithfully informed our People of, and pressed upon them their Duty for Opposing the same. And now it hath pleased the Lord to suffer Men among our selves to be our Enemies, these who took sweet Counsel together with us, renewed the Covenant, and entered in a solemn Declaration, do now lift up themselves against us, and under a pretence of Delivering us, have indeed been the principal Instruments to ruin Us and the Work of God among us, if the Lord restrain them not from the accomplishing their whole Design. The chief Head of those

(a) [*Blown the Trumpet*] What sort of Trumpeters the Presbyterian Preachers of those times had been and how readily their People always took the Alarm is very well known. But in all their trumpeting, did they ever so much as once endeavour to move the people to stand up in Defence of King Charles the First, before they knew it to be too late?

(b) [*Malignants*] i. e. the King's Party, as they explain it by and by.

those, who pretend Authority above the rest, is the Lord Viscount of Airds, whose present Actions are so (a) repug-

(a) [Repugnant] The specious and seemingly sanctified Pretences of the Covenanters drew in some well meaning Men at first to joyn with them, who when they came to discover the bottom of their Design, soon forsook them.

nant to his former Professions, that no Christian or ingenuous man can think upon them without Horror and Detestation: His Forwardness to renew the Covenant: His Fervency to have a solemn Band and Declaration subscribed and entered into: His large Promises to defend Religion: His disclaiming all Conjunction with Pa-

pists or Rebels with words of Zeal and Disdain: His Insinuations upon all honest Men for gaining them to him: His consenting to all Publick Orders against *Malignants*, being compared with his late Undertakings, must clearly present to every man's View the great Dissimulation and Betraying of the People and Covenant he is guilty of; for which our Sorrow and Grief is no less, than our Rejoycing had been great, to have seen his Lordship stand faithful, which was one of our chiefest Desires.

For (whereas the Danger of such Accidents being foreseen) an Article was inserted in the Declaration, to acknowledge the Kings

(b) [He confirming] It seems then these Loyal Gentlemen would not so much as acknowledge the King's Commands how lawful soever, except He first should Confirm all the Articles of the Covenant, not one excepted.

Command; (b) He confirming all the Articles of the Covenant, before He were admitted to the Exercise of His Royal Power, without which Clause many would have trembled to joyn with Him: Yet he has now clothed himself with a Commission from His Majesty, who as yet refuses to give any Satisfaction in Religion unto the just

Desires of the Kingdom of Scotland. Yea, His Concessions are less than these granted by his Royal Father; which yet were declared by Church and State, Unsatisfactorie, and therefore the executing such a Commission, is nothing else but an Endeavour to set up the Kings Majesty, not only before Religion, but in a Quarrel destructive unto it. For the first Difference between the King and His People, was touching his absolute and unlimited Power in Civil Things, and His Adherence to Prelacy, and maintaining their Power; for which both our late Sovereign, and His Majesty who now is, did raise Arms against their Subjects, and to this day that same Quarrel is avouched and owned by His Majesty; and all His Commissions tend to the bringing Him to that Power, which was justly denyed to His Royal Father. And it seems the

Lord

Lord of *Airds* does own the same, for he says in his new Declaration of the fourth of this Instant directly, *That the Kings Commission did ever procure Respect and Obedience untill the worst of Times*, which must needs be meaned of that Time, when the (a) Kingdoms were united by a Covenant, in opposition to such Commissions given by the King to *Malignants*. And that one Phrase may give us a taste what may be expected from the rest of his Declarations concerning his Professions to Religion. For if the Refusing any Commissions from the King was in the worst of Times, then surely the Taking a Covenant, the Union of the Kingdoms, casting out Prelacy, bringing down *Malignants*, all against a personal Commission is accounted by his Lordship to flow from the Iniquity of the Times. Moreover in his Declaration, he farther discovers his Thoughts of Reformation, when he professes to endeavour *the bringing of the King to his Throne, whence He is debarred by wicked men, who (as he says) has overturn'd Church and State in other His Dominions*, (by which we conceive, he understands both *Scotland* and *England*, since no other but this is excepted) whereby his Lordships Judgment of the Government of *Scotland* would appear to be that it is, both Civilly and Ecclesiastically overturned; what Good shall we expect from him for Religion, who thinks so. Yea, it appears his Lordship thinks that same of us, when he says, *There were some who would have had him run in absolute opposition to the Kings Partie, as well as to Sectaries*. By whom we conceive among others, he must understand the *Ministrie*, who were indeed earnest to oppose *Sectaries* and (b) *Malignants* equally, which in his judgment is but a preferring our own Opinions and Ends to the Well of the Kingdom. What Assistance shall we expect from him in the future for the Good of Religion, when he makes our (c) former Faithfulness our Reproach. And whereas he promises to endeavour to procure from His Majesty a Settling of our Religion, we conceive him to mean Religion either in the large extent, as it can take in Prelacy, and as he calls it thereafter, *The Protestant Religion*, or else we believe that he has little ground to think that he will obtain that from His Majesty. which He has refused to grant to His faithful Subjects of *Scotland*, to wit, An Establishment of the Solemn League and Covenant; without which Religion can

(a) [Kingdoms were united] Evident Proof of the Presbyterian Loyalty.

(b) [Malignants] Here note; That the Kings Party and Malignants are in this Declaration put to signifie one and the same thing.

(c) [Former Faithfulness] i. e. Standing up against the King and the Established Church.

never

never be truly secured here, it being to small purpose, though His Majesty should tolerate the *Presbyterial Government* in this Province for a time, and yet refuse to settle it in the rest of His Dominions.

It is moreover observable, that his Lordship never mentions *Presbyterial Government* in all his Declaration, nor doth he once name the Covenant, or promise any thing in relation to it, which is too gross a Character of his Lordships Disaffection to Reformation, and may seem clearly to be done that He may be answerable to His Majesty for his Professions, that they are no larger than his Commission allows Him to make them, which is not, either to defend *Presbyterial Government* or the Covenant, but to receive His Commands from the Marquess of Ormonde, who has been still an Enemy to both, and who hath made a Peace, with the Rebels Destructive to Religion; unto which Peace, the Lord of Airds contrary to his many Professions and Subscriptions, has now joyned himself: For his Commission imports no less binding him (as we are informed)

(a) [*To protect*] Bare Protection given to His Majesties Catholick Subjects, with whom the Lord of ORMONDE by the necessity of Affairs had been forced to make Peace, is here reckoned to be Destructive of Religion.

(b) [*Employed Irish Papists*] If the War be just, it is not reckoned Unlawful; to Employ Auxiliaries, tho' of a different Religion.

(a) to protect and be careful of His Majesties Catholick Subjects, His late Actions also declare it, for He (b) employed *Irish Papists* in His Service for the Subduing the Two Garrisons of Belfast, and Craigfergus, as is clear, not only by His avouching the chief Command over them, and giving them Orders, but also in His Declaration, He seems not obscurely to justify their Invasion, calling them by the friendly names of Strangers, and making their Quarrel to be but a pressing the

Kings Interest, which he says, was not sufficiently secured among us. And in another place speaking of them, He says, that the Quarters are not able to bear such a burthen without Ruin, by which it seems His L. would not be weary of them, if the Quarter could be able to bear them, all which, as it is but a Mockry of the Publick Declaration, so it is a notorious Breach of Covenant, for He is sworn to oppose all *Malignants*, who are against the solemn League, or would divide the King from His People in their Defence of it, yet he joyns with *Malignants*, who (c) blasphemes

(c) [*Blasphemes the Covenant*] Is it no less than Blasphemy to speak against the Covenant?

phemes the Covenant. In the Covenant he is (a) sworn to extirpate Popery and Prelacy, yet he puts on a Commission, which binds him to maintain *Protestant Religion* in the large extent, and *Parapists* in the Exercise of their Religion. Yea, the *Marquess of ORMONDE*, from whom he is to receive Commands, is an avouched maintainer of Prelacy, and retains still the old *English Liturgy* (as we are informed) in his Publick Devotions. In the Covenant He is sworn to endeavour the bringing to Punishment those, who divide the King from His Kingdoms, or one of them from another; yet he executes such a Commission, which foment the Distance betwixt His Majesty and the Kingdom of *Scotland*, and is a mighty Obstruction unto His Majesties Granting of their just Desires. In the Covenant he is sworn to defend to his uttermost power all those who joyn in the Covenant, in the Defence thereof, yet he under colour of Strengthening, betrayed Covenanters to the hands of Enemies to the Covenant, by bringing the Garisons under the power of a Command opposite to the Covenant. All these things make clear as the Beams of the Sun, the Unlawfulness of his Authority by such a Commission (any thing his L. brings in Defence of it in his Declaration notwithstanding) for he pretends nothing there, but Necessity and his good Intentions, none of which can excuse him from so unheard of Violation of his Vows and Subscriptions, neither are the Miseries so great, which his Commission met with at his first making use of it, as those which his so sinful an Engagement shall bring on hereafter. For the Judgment he pretends to prevent by joyning with *Malignants* against *Sectaries*, will prove but Physick of no Value to this poor Land, and will involve them in sadder Judgments than any they could have apprehended from both the former. If they had continued constant Opposers, equally of both, and joyned with neither. Shall he prosper that doth these things, or *shall he break the Covenant and be delivered?* The faithful man sweareth to his hurt and changeth not.

(b) For this Cause, as the Embassadors of Christ, we beseech our People in his stead, not to joyn hands with such a course, or to meddle with them, who are given to change: And particularly We charge all who has renewed the Covenant,

(a) [*Sworn to extirpate*] What Security can the *Established Church* expect from those, who are sworn to extirpate Her Government.

(b) [*For this Cause*] Here follows a Loyal and Pathetick Exhortation to the People to stand firm against the King and the Lord of Ormonde, who acted by His Commission. Vid. pag. 18 of the foregoing Book.

nant, and has entred into a Declaration of the Army and Country, not to joyn in executing of such a Commission, by taking Charge In the Army under the present Command, or Serving them either as Officers or Soldiers, else We foretell them in the Name of the God of Truth, that the Quarrel of the Covenant shall pursue them, and they shall wring out the dregs of the cup, which *Malignants* have been drinking these many Years bypast. Yea, their Judgment shall be enlarged far above the former, because both they have seen the others Plagues, and have of late renewed the Covenant which *Malignants* oppose.

We do also in the name of Jesus Christ, warn the People of our Charge to keep themselves free from all Compliance with their ungodly Course, either by speaking favourably of them, acknowledging the Authority of the present Command under the *Marquess of ORMONDE*, and the Lord of *Airds*, by imposing of Cess upon others for maintaining their unlawful Power, or by constant obeying their Orders, in paying Cess unto their Army, which is nothing else but a Submission unto their Authority, a Strengthening of their Hands, and an Upholding of them, who maintain a Quarrel destructive to the Covenant, all which is sinful Compliance, and a Breach of Covenant, as well as to fight in their Quarrel; for it is a Promoving of their Course, tho' not by Arms, yet by supplying that which is the Sinews of War, Money and Victuals. Neither can any Necessity be an Excuse to it, for we ought to choose Affliction rather than Sin; to help the Ungodly, and to strengthen the Hands of the Wicked, is an Evil worse than any Suffering.

The Lord, who suffered this Land to make Defection, when they were called to Action against this Party, is now calling them for a time to Suffering rather than Compliance, so to try more narrowly the Fidelity of His People, and their Love to His Truth more than their Goods or Lives, otherwise the sudden Destruction which shall come on the *Malignants* here, shall likewise overtake the Land, and make their Sufferings then far greater with an evil Conscience, than they shall now endure for Well-doing, and the God of Truth shall fulfill His Promise to His People, that those who endure cheerfully the Spoiling of their Goods, shall have in Heaven a better and more enduring Substance, yea, shall have an Hundredth Fold here, and in the end Life Everlasting.

There are none in this Land, who formerly suffered for Righteousness sake, who need this Day to repent it, and for whom the Lord provided not abundantly in their greatest Want. And therefore We do again exhort them to stand fast to the Covenant, that neither Perswasion nor Terroure may with-draw them from the Truth which is now opposed ; but that they lament for former Sins, which bring on these Calamities, turn in to the Lord, and embrace the Gospel, and to rejoyce in the Croſs of Chriſt, and when the Times of Refreshing ſhall come from the Preſence of the Lord, their Sins ſhall be blotted out, and the Lord ſhall return their Captivity like the Streams of the South.

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